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114 China thus constituted, to which the Khasis belong, was
144 in some way connected with the large linguistic family in the Indian-Peninsula once called Kolarian, but now more generally known as *Mundā*, who inhabit the hilly region of Chutia Nagpur and parts of the Satpura range in the Central Provinces. Of these tribes the principal are the Santhāls, the Mundās, and the Korkus. In physical characters they differ greatly from the Indo-Chinese Khasis, but the points of resemblance in their languages and in some of their institutions cannot be denied; and the exact nature of the relation between them is as yet one of the unsolved problems of ethnology.

114 The work of Logan was carried further by Prof.
197 Ernst Kuhn, of Munich, who in 1883 and 1889 published important contributions to our knowledge of the languages and peoples of Further India. More recently our acquaintance with the phonology of Khasi and its relatives has been still further advanced by the labours of Pater W. Schmidt, of Vienna, whose latest work, *Die Mon-Khmer Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens* (Braunschweig, 1906), has established the relationship of Khasi not only to the Mān-Khmēr languages, but also to Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by wild tribes in the Malay Peninsula.

There still remains much to be done before the speech of the Khasi nation can be considered to have been thoroughly investigated. In the *Linguistic Survey* four dialects are dealt with, the standard literary form, founded on the language of Cherrapunji, the *Pnār* or *Syateng*, of Jowai, the *Wār*, spoken in the valleys on the southern face of the hills, and the *Lyngngām*, spoken in the tract adjacent to the Garos on the west. Major Gurdon (p. 203) mentions a fifth, that of Jirang

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or Mynnār, spoken in the extreme north, and there may be others. A great desideratum for linguistic purposes is a more adequate method of recording sounds, and especially differences of tone, than that adopted for the standard speech, which though sufficient for practical purposes, does not accurately represent either the quantity or the quality of the vowels, and leaves something to be desired as regards the consonants (especially those only faintly sounded or suppressed). These things, no doubt, will come in time. The immense advance which has been made in education by the Khasis during the last half-century has enabled some among them to appreciate the interesting field for exploration and study which their own country and people afford; and there is reason to hope that with European guidance the work of record will progress by the agency of indigenous students.

It remains to summarize briefly the principal distinctive features of this vigorous and sturdy race, who have preserved their independence and their ancestral institutions through many centuries in the face of the attractions offered by the alien forms of culture around them.

In the first place, their social organization presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family: in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan; what he earns goes

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144 regards social customs, with the Khasis; but it will be noticed
211 in the chapter dealing with memorial stones that some of the
171 Naga tribes are in the habit of erecting monoliths somewhat similar in character to those of the Khasis, and that the Mikirs (who wear the Khasi sleeveless coat), erect memorial stones exactly similar to those of the Khasis. The evidence seems to suggest a theory that the Mon-Anam race, including of course the Khasis, occupied at one time a much larger area in the mountainous country to the south of the Brahmaputra in Assam than it does at present. Further references will be found to this
144 point in the section dealing with memorial stones. The fact
171 that the Ho-Mundas of Chota Nagpur also erect memorial stones and that they possess death customs very similar to those of the Khasis, has also been noticed in the same chapter. We have, therefore, the following points of similarity as regards customs between the Khasis on the one hand, certain Eastern Naga tribes, the Mikirs, and the ancient inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula on the other:—

(*a*) Peculiarly shaped hoe, i.e. the hoe with far projecting shoulders	1. Khasis. 2. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 3. The ancient inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. 4. The ancient inhabitants of Chota Nagpur (the Ho-Mundas?).
(*b*) Sleeveless coat	1. Khasis. 2. Mikirs. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes.
(*c*) Memorial stones	1. Khasis. 2. Mikirs. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 4. Ho-Mundas of Chota Nagpur.

● 197 I wish to draw no definite conclusions from the above facts,
144 but they are certainly worth considering with reference to Logan's theory as stated by Peal: the theory being based on Logan's philological inquiries. Thanks to the labours of Grierson, Logan, and Kuhn in the linguistic field, we know that the languages of the Mon-Khmêr group in Burma and the Malay Peninsula are intimately connected with Khasi. I say, intimately, advisedly, for not only are roots of words seen to be similar, but the order of the words in the sentence is found to be the same, indicating that both these people think in the same order when wishing to express themselves by speech.

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SECTION III.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

101 [197] THE inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may be said to be divided into the following sections:—Khasi, Synteng or Pnar, Wár, Bhoi, and Lynngam. These divisions represent collections of people inhabiting several tracts of country and speaking dialects which, although often deriving their origin from the Khasi roots, are frequently so dissimilar to the standard language as to be almost unrecognizable. The above sections may be sub-divided as follows:—The Khasis into the inhabitants of the central high plateau, Cherra and Nongstoin, Mahadam, Mario, Nongkhlaw, and the neighbouring Siemships. The Syntengs or Pnars may be divided as follows:—Into Syntengs proper, Nongtungs, and Kharwangs; the Wárs into Wár proper, and Wár Pnar; the Bhois into Jinthongs, Mynris, Ryngkhongs, and the Khasi-Bhois, i.e. Khasis who inhabit the low country to the north of the district, which is called generally the "Bhoi." The Lynngams are a separate division. They must not be confused with the Dkos or Hanas who are Garos. It must, however, be remembered that the Jinthong, Mynri, and Ryngkhong Sub-divisions of the Bhoi division are not Khasi, but Mikir, i.e. they belong to the Bodo or Bara group. The Lynngams are half Khasis and half Garos, and the Dkos or 101 Hanas are Garos who observe the Khasi custom of erecting 582 memorial stones. The above tribes and sub-tribes are not 614 strictly endogamous, nor are they strictly exogamous, but they are more endogamous than exogamous; for instance, Syntengs more often marry Syntengs than Khasis, and *vice versâ*, and it would be usually considered derogatory for a

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764 a similar custom prevalent amongst the Khyrwangs. The Nongtungs, in the Jaintia Hills, keep dead bodies sometimes as
[1335] long as a month, until the *phur* or ceremonial dance has been performed. Hence they are called *Nong-tung*, or "stinkers." Amongst the Lyngams the dead body is kept for sometimes three or four months, or up to the time when a bull can be
[1231] procured for a feast to the villagers. This feast is an essential, and, cattle being scarce in the Lyngam country, there is often great delay in disposing of the body. Lyngam villages at such a time are best avoided. The Lyngams of Nongsohbar bury the unburnt bones of the deceased within the village, and in front of the house occupied by the deceased when alive, the bones being placed in a hole in the ground, over which is laid a stone, a bamboo mat being nailed over the stone. A bamboo fence three or four feet high is erected round the grave. Other Lyngams bury the uncalcined bones and ashes in a gourd in the jungle near the burning-place. On their way home, the members of the clan of the deceased who have come from other villages to witness the funeral obsequies, put up a stone on the path in honour of the deceased, a turban being tied round the
[1211] top of the stone. The Garos or Dkos, who live at the foot of the hills on the Kamrup border, and are called by the Assamese *Hana* (spear-men), erect memorial stones in honour of the deceased, the lower jaw-bones of sacrificial animals and other articles being hung on the stones. The stones are also swathed in cloths, and turbans are tied round the tops. The death customs of the Lyngams, and, indeed, other customs also, are partly Khasi and partly Garo, it being difficult to say that the
[1197] Lyngams are more Khasi than Garo, or more Garo than Khasi in this respect; their language, however, has been found by Dr. Grierson to be a corruption of Khasi. In Nongstoin, Mawlih, and Mariaw villages, the inhabitants of which profess to be Khasis, the bones and ashes of the deceased are not collected and placed in repositories, as at Cherrapunji. At Mariaw and Nongstoin a large wooden coffin is used, painted white, with ornamentations on the outside, and standing on four legs.
764 This coffin is not burnt on the funeral pyre. In the
643 family of the chiefs of Cherra, the body of a deceased Siem is
766 subjected to the following process:—It is wrapped in a cloth

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Khasi Hills.	Jaintia Hills.
1. Lynkah (Barpani or Khawang)	Kyllao. (Suhtnga).
2. Nongkrem	Pynsing.
3. Um-long (Maolong the hat at Laban)	Maolong. (Nartiang).
4. Ranghep (Jeu-bah at Cherra) (Mawtawar in Mylliem) (Unsaw in Nongkhlaw)	Maosiang. (Jowai).
5. Shillong (Laitlyngkot)	Maoshai. (Shangpung).
6. Pomtih or Pomtiah (Mawkhar, small market)	Pynkat. (Mynso).
7. Umnih	Thym-blein.
8. Yeo-duh (Mawkhar, large market)	Ka-hat. (Jaintiapur).

In the Wár country, markets are usually held every fourth day, e.g. at Nongjri, Mawbang, Tyllap, and Shella. At Theria the market is held every Friday, and at Hat-majai, or Bholagunj, every Tuesday.

THE LYNNGAMS.

101 131 Although mention has been made incidentally in various parts of this monograph of Lynngam customs, it has been thought necessary to give the Lynngams a separate chapter, as these people differ so very greatly from the Khasis in their manner of life, and in their customs. *Lyngam* is the Khasi name: the Garo name for the Lynngams is *Megam*. There [341] are several *Megam* villages in the north-eastern corner of the Garo Hills district, and there is regular communication kept up between these villages and the Lynngam inhabitants of the Khasi Hills district. The Lynngams must not be confused with the *Hájó* or *Námdaniya* Garos who inhabit the low hills to the north of the Khasi Hills district, and are called by the 101 Khasis *Dko*. All Lynngams claim to be Khasis, they dislike 197 being called Garos; but although it is true they speak what may be called a dialect of Khasi, and observe some of the Khasi customs, the Lynngams are more Garo than Khasi. Before 101 proceeding further, it should be stated that the Assamese of Boko call the Lynngams *Núniyá* Garos, all hill people being Garos to the Assamese of that region, without distinction

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SECTION VII.

LANGUAGE.

197 BEFORE commencing to describe the more salient features of the Khasi language, its grammar, and syntax, it seems to be of importance to show how intimately connected Khasi is with some of the languages of Further India. In the middle of the last century Logan pointed out affinity between Khasi and these languages, but it has been left to Professor Kuhn to prove this connection to demonstration. The examples of comparative vocabularies which follow are taken from Kuhn's "*Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde Hinterindiens*," Sir George Scott's "Upper Burma Gazetteer," and Sir George Campbell's lists. It will be seen from the collections of words that follow how Khasi possesses many words in common with Mon or Talaing, Khmêr, Suk, Stieng, Bahnar, Annam, Khamen-Boram, Xong, Samre, Khmu, Lemet, Palaung, and Wa. There is some correspondence, although perhaps to a lesser degree, between Khasi and the Ho-Munda languages and those of Malacca and the Nancowry language of the Nicobar Islands.

192 197 Let us now examine the table of numerals. The Khasi word for 1 is *wei*, but in the Amwi dialect of Khasi it is *mi*. In Khmu the word is *mui*, also in Suk: in Mon *muoi* and in Xong *mui*. The word for 2 is identical in Khasi and Lemet, viz. *ar*. The word for 3, viz. *lai*, is identical in Khasi and Wa; also compare Lemet *lohe*. Khasi *saw* and Lakadong *thaw* for 4 are, however, deviating forms. In the case of 5, if we cut out the prefix *m* in the Mon word *m'sun*, we have fairly close agreement with the Khasi *sau*. In the numeral 6, if we cut out the prefix *hiu* of the Khasi (*hiu*)*riw*, and the initial *t* of Mon and Suk *t'rou*, *trou*, we have close agreement. In the Khasi words for 7 and 8 the syllable *hiu* is but a prefix. This is also probably the case in the Khasi word (*khyn*)*dai* for 9, and the *shi* in the Khasi word *shiphew*, 10, merely means one.

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NUMERALS.

—	Suc.	Mon or Talaing.	Suk.	Stieng.	Bahnar.	Annam.	Khmer Boran.	Xong.	Samre.
1	mue	mwoi	mui	muôi	moin, ming	môt	muay	moi	moe
2	bar	ba	bar	bar	bar	hai	bar	pra	pra
3	poi	pi	pe	pêi	peng	ba	peh	pe	pe
4	puon	pan	puon	puôn	puôn	bôn	pon	pôn	pon
5	sung	m'sun	sung	prăm	(po)dam	năm	pram	pram	pram
6	thpat	t'rou	trou	prou	(to)trou	sau	krong	dam	kadon
7	thpol	t'pah	pho	pôh	(to)po	bay	grul	kanul	kanul
8	thkol	d'c'am	tam	pham	(to)ngam	tam	kati	kati	katai
9	thke	d'ceit	kin	tên	(to)xin	chin	kansar	kasa	katea
10	muchit	cah	chit	jemat jet	ming jit	muoi chuk	uai	rai	rai

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NUMERALS.

—	Khmu.	Lemet.	Palaung.	Wa.	Dialects of Khasi.				
					Khasi.	Lakadong.	Amwi.	Synteng.	Mynnar or Jirang.
1	mui	mus (mos)	lé	te	wei	bi	mi	wi	mi
2	bar	ar	è (a)	r (ə)	ar	a	o	ar	ir
3	pe	lohe	oé	lai	lâi	lôi	la	la	lei
4	puon	pun (pon)	phun	pon	saw	thâu	siá	so	so
5	pfuong	pan	phan	hpawn (han)	san	thân	san	san	sân
6	tol	tal	to	laiya (la)	(hin)riw	thro	thrau	gnro	thrui
7	kul	pul	phu	ndaiya (dlia)	(hin)iew	(hum)thloi	ynthla	ynniaw	ynthlei
8	ti	ta	ta	ʻte (ai'te)	phra	humpya	humphyo	phra	humpyir
9	kash	tim	tim	ʻti (ai'ti)	(khyn)dai	hunsulai	hunshia	khyndo	khyndai
10	kan	kel	kon (ko)	kao	(shi)phow	shiphai	shipho	(shi)phaw	shiphi

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It will be seen that there is considerable similarity in the numerals of the different languages up to six, the correspondence being most strongly marked in the numerals 1, 2, 5, and 6. If we remember that primitive people seldom can count higher than the number of digits of one hand, the dissimilarity in the numerals, as the end of the decade is approached, is probably explained. As the different people speaking these languages gradually advanced in civilization they learned to count further; but by this time they had become in some cases like those of the Khasis, the Palaungs, and Mons, widely separated from one another. As they advanced in civilization, and found the necessity of an improved notation, they manufactured numerals which differed from one another, although they retained the first few numerals they had made use of in their days of savagery. Let us now study some extracts from Kuhn's interesting comparative vocabulary.* We find many instances of agreement. I give some examples:—

Heaven.—Palaung, *pleng*; Khmêr, *plieng* (rain); Xong, *pleng*; Khasi, *bneng*. Mynnar (Jirang) *phanlieng* seems to be very near Khmêr *phlieng*, and Palaung, and Xong *pleng*.

Day (Sun).—Khmêr, *thngay*; Mon, *tngoi*; Annam, *ngay*; Lemet, *ngay pri*; Palaung, *ongoi*; Khasi, *sngi*; Lakadong, *sngoi*; Kol, *singi*.

Year.—Mon, *snâm*; Annam, *nam*; Stieng, *so'nom*; Bahnar, *sonam*; Khasi, *snem*.

Lightning.—Mon, *t'li*; Khasi, *leilih*.

Stone, Rock.—Mon, *tmâ, k'mow*; Stieng, *to'mâu*; Bahn, *tmo, temo*; Khmêr, *thma*; Xong, *tmo*; Palaung, *maw*; Ba, *maou*; Khasi, *maw*; Wa, *kei-mo, kei-mau*. Also compare Mynnar (Jirang) *smaw*.

Water.—Palaung, *ea*; Khasi, *um*; Lakadong, *ea*; Anwi, *eau*; Mynnar (Jirang), *dam*; Rumai, *om*. Probably the Stieng *um*, to bathe, can be connected with the Khasi word for water.

Sea, pond, or tank.—Khmêr, *ping*; Khasi, *pung*.

Rice.—Mon, *sro*, paddy, seems to be in connection with Khmêr, *srau* (spoken *sraw* or *srow*).* Xong *rako* is in Palaung *rakao, aakao*, or *takao*. These words remind us of the Khasi

* Kuhn's "Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde Hinterindiens."

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khaw, which seems to be borrowed from the Shan *khaw* (Ahom *k-au*).

Dog.—The common word for this animal will be found to be nearly the same in sound in many of these languages, e.g. Suk. *cho*; Stieng, *sou*; Bahnar, *ko, cho*; Annam, *cho*; Xong, *tcho*; Mi, *khwa*; Lemet, *so*; Palaung, *tsau, kseo*; Khasi, *ksew*. The Mon *khleie* is the same as the Khasi *ksew*, if l is changed into s. The Lakadong and Synteng dialects of Khasi have *kseu*, and Mynnar (Jirang) *kseu*.

Ilat, mouse.—Mon, *kni, gni*; Stieng, *ko'nei*; Bahnar, *kone*; Khasi, *khnar*.

Swine.—Bahnar *ninny* is evidently Khasi *'ninng*, the abbreviated form of *sniang*.

Tiger.—Mon, *klo*; Stieng, *kloh*; Bahnar, *klo*; Khmèr, *khlè*; and Khasi, *khlè* are evidently the same. With this compare the Kol *kula, kuli, kuli*.

Bird.—Suk, *kiem*; Mon, *g'cem, kn-teim*; Hüei, *chiem*; Stieng, *chwee*; Bahnar, Annam, *chim*; Xong, *chiem*; Palaung and Wa, *keim*, and Khasi *sim* are clearly the same. Also compare Mynnar (Jirang), *kseu* which is very near to Mon, *g'cem*.

Ear.—Hüei, *kut, gur*; Suk, *gur*; Bahnar, *ür*; Stieng, *ür*; Khmu, *gre*; Lemet, *er*; Palaung, *ker*, and Khasi, *sier*, abbreviated into *'ier*, are probably the same.

Fish.—The word *ka* or *kha* runs through the following languages:—Mon, Stieng, Bahnar, Annam, Khmu, Lemet, Palaung, Wa: and if we cut off the first syllable of the Khasi word for fish, *dokkha*, we find *'kha*, which is the same word as in the languages above mentioned, with an aspirate added. The Khasi *dok* merely means flesh, and the word *dokkha* is very frequently abbreviated, cf. *'kha sor, 'kha long*.

Crab.—Mon, *kk'kim*; Khmèr, *kdam*; Khasi, *thim*. If we add the gender sign to the Khasi word, it becomes *ka thim*, and we have exact correspondence.

Mouse.—Mon, *kwm* or *kwm*. Is this the same as the Khasi (*ka*) *kseir*?

Child.—Suk, *kdo*; Suk, *kon*; Mon, *kon*; Hüei, *kuon*; Annam, *kon*; Khmèr, *kwn*; Khasi, *khun*. Compare Nancowry, *kon*.

Eye.—The word *mat, mot, mit*, runs through several of these languages, e.g. Mon, *mot*; Hüei, *met*; Stieng, *mot*; Bahnar,

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mat; Annam, *mat*; Khasi, *khmáit* (dialectic *mát*). In Nancowry compare *almat*, eye, and *almat*, eyebrow, and (*o*)*mat* (*hen*) *mat* (*drug*), *mat*, of the Nicobar dialects, also Semang *mat*, *met*, *med*. Kuhn remarks that the word *mat* is common for "*sight*," and "*eye*" all over the Malay Archipelago. It should be remarked that in the Anwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi the word is *mát*.

Note.—If we cut off the aspirate *kh* from the Khasi *khmat*, which thus becomes *mat*, we find some correspondence between Mon, *mah* (*mo*); Stieng (*bro*), *mih*; Bahnar, *meh*. Here also compare Ho *mac*, *mate*; Mundari, *mae*; Uraon, *mog*. In the Anwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi the word is *mar-long*.

Hand.—Xong, *ti*; Mon, *toi*; Annam, *tay*, Khmer, *te* (from *somy te*, finger); Palaung, *tae*, *tei*, and Khasi, *kti* (with prefix *k*) closely correspond. The forms *te* and *toi* of Anwi, and Lakadong, respectively, still more closely correspond with the Mon-Khmer languages than with Khasi. Here compare Nancowry *toi* and *ti*, or *ti* of the Kol languages.

Blood.—Palaung *kwam*, and Wa *nam* closely correspond with Khasi *snáw*; here compare Khmèr *jhám*.

Horn.—Mon, *prang*, the horn of an animal, may be compared with the Khasi *rang*.

Far.—Distant. Bahnar, *kongei*; Annam, *ngoi*; Khmèr, *chhngay*; Lemet, *ongay*; Sue *chongei* may be compared with the Khasi *jing-ngoi*. Anwi *Anjingoi* seems to be a closer form to the above than Khasi *jing-ngoi*. But compare Mynnar (*Jiring*), *chongi*, which is clearly very close to Sue *chongei*, and Khmer *chhngay*.

To weep, to cry.—Mon, *yóm*; Khmer, *yom*; Khmu Lemet and Palaung, *yom*, are clearly the same as Khasi *ióm*, with which also may be compared Ho *yóm*.

It is interesting to note that the Anwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi, which are spoken by the people who dwell on the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, seem more closely to correspond with the Mon-Khmer forms than even with Khasi. The Mynnar or Jiring dialect of Khasi, spoken on the extreme south of the hills, also appears to possess some words which are very similar indeed to some of the Mon-Khmèr forms given by

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197 Professor Kuhn. Unfortunately, I had time to collect but a few words of this interesting dialect, as I arrived in the portion of the country inhabited by these people only a short time before submitting this monograph to Government. The Mynnar dialect appears to be akin to the Synteng, Lakadong, and Amwi forms of speech. The Mynnars observe also the Synteng ceremony of "*Beh-ding-khlam*," or driving away the demon of cholera, so that although now inhabiting a part of the country a considerable distance away from that of the Syntengs, it is not unlikely that they were originally connected with the latter more closely.

Professor Kuhn comes to the conclusion that there is a distinct connection between Khasi, Mon or Talaing, Khmêr, and the other languages of Indo-China that have been mentioned, which is to be seen not only from similarities in some of the numerals, but from the convincing conformities of many other words of these languages. He goes on to add that more important than these contacts of the mono-syllabic languages of Indo-China with mono-syllabic Khasi is their affinity with the Kol, and Nancowry poly-syllabic languages and with that of the aboriginal inhabitants of Malacca, i.e. the languages of the so-called Orang-Utang, or men of the woods, Sakei, Semung, Orang-Benua, and others; and that although it is not, perhaps, permissible to derive at once from this connection the relation of the Khasi Mon-Khmêr mono-syllabic group with these poly-syllabic languages, it seems to be certain that a common substratum lies below a great portion of the Indo-Chinese languages as well as those of the Kol and Ho-Munda group. More important than connections between words is, as Dr. Grierson points out in his introduction to the Mon-Khmêr family, the order of the words in the sentence. In both Khasi and Mon
193 that order is subject, verb, object. Taking this fact in conjunc-
197 tion with the similarities of the Khasi and Mon vocabularies, we may conclude that it is proof positive of the connection between Khasi and Mon, or Talaing. In Munda, however, the order is subject, object, verb. This is a very important difference, for, as Dr. Grierson points out, "the order of words in a sentence follows the order of thought of the speaker; it follows therefore that the Mundas think in an order of ideas different

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from those of the Khasis and the Mons. Dr. Grierson comes to the same conclusion with respect to these languages as Professor Kuhn, which is as follows:—"Owing to the existence of these differences we should not be justified in assuming a common origin for the Mon-Khmêr langs. on the one hand, and for the Munda, Nancowry, and Malacca languages on the other. We may, however, safely assume that there is at the bottom of all these tongues a common substratum, over which there have settled layers of the speeches of other peoples, differing in different localities. Nevertheless, this substratum was so firmly established as to prevent its being entirely hidden by them, and frequent undeniable traces of it are still discernible in languages spoken in widely distant tracts of Nearer and Further India. Of what language this original substratum consisted we are not yet in a position to say. Whatever it was, it covered a wide area, larger than the area covered by many families of languages in India at the present day. Languages with this common substratum are now spoken, not only in the modern Province of Assam, in Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and Anam, but also over the whole of Central India, as far west as the Berars". Grierson, having agreed regarding the existence of this common substratum, does not finally determine whether the ancient substratum was the parent of the present Munda languages, or of the Mon-Khmêr language. He says, "It cannot have been the parent of both, but it is possible that it was the parent of neither." We are thus still in a state of uncertainty as to what was the origin of these languages.

The brief description which follows of some of the more prominent characteristics of the Khasi language is based chiefly on Sir Charles Lyall's skeleton Grammar contained in Vol. II. of Dr. Grierson's "Linguistic Survey of India". It does not pretend to be an exhaustive treatise on the language; for this students are referred to the excellent grammar compiled by the Rev. H. Roberts.

The Article.—There are four articles in Khasi; three in the singular, u (masculine), ka (feminine), and i (diminutive of both genders); and one in the plural for both genders, ki.

All Khasi nouns take a pronominal prefix to denote the gender, i.e. the third personal pronoun, u (masculine), ka (feminine),

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Verbs.	
[illegible]	to threaten.
[illegible]	to be afraid.
[illegible]	to be familiar.
[illegible]	to beg.
[illegible]	to assemble.

Adjectives.	
[illegible]	bad.
[illegible]	active.
[illegible]	powerful.
[illegible]	noble.
[illegible]	pertaining to a noble family.
[illegible]	poor, needy.
[illegible]	righteous.
[illegible]	wealthy.

Adverbs.	
[illegible]	deliberately.
[illegible]	brilliantly (red).
[illegible]	prominently.
[illegible]	thoroughly.
[illegible]	closely.
[illegible]	warmly.
[illegible]	nearly.
[illegible]	having no home.

The Nikkis appear to have borrowed a small portion of their vocabulary from the Khasis. The following are quoted as examples of possible common words:—

	Nikkis.	Khasis.
belly	[illegible]	[illegible]
stroke (v.)	[illegible]	[illegible]
father	[illegible]	[illegible]
come (v.)	[illegible]	[illegible]
one hour	[illegible]	[illegible]
maternal uncle	[illegible]	[illegible]

The Lyngam dialect differs so much from the standard of place. Dr. Stevenson, on page 17 to 19 of his Volume II. of the "Linguistic Survey of India" has indicated some of these differences which may be re-quoted here as follows. Some of the components varies considerably from those used in the standard dialect. There are also many minor differences of pronunciation. A man is a [illegible], a son is a [illegible], not a [illegible]. Standard [illegible] is often represented by [illegible]. Thus [illegible] for [illegible]. A final [illegible] often appears as [illegible] and an initial [illegible] as [illegible]. Thus [illegible] becomes in Lyngam [illegible]

St Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

Standard ai becomes ee. Thus ween-ween, mat; dai-dai, be necessary. The articles are frequently omitted. The pronoun u is used for the plural as well as the singular, instead of the Standard plural bi. The diminutive i is used with inanimate nouns. This is also sometimes the case in the Standard form.

Nouns.—The gentle of the Accusative-dative is ee or ee, often contracted to i instead of ia (Standard). The gentle of the Ablative is kreem, kum, or treem. The Standard Dative-locative gentle ka is also used, and may be spelt ka or ky. Ta or ta are also found. For the genitive, besides the Standard jong, are found ka, ee-ka, ee, and ee-ween. *Ka-ween* and *ee* also mean "from."

The plural sometimes takes the suffix *mut*.

Adjectives.—The usual word for male is *kreng*, and for "female" *kmiem*, in place of the Standard *shyreng* and *kynthei* respectively. The following are examples of comparison:—*Ee-ngeeiang*, good; *Mei-ngeeiang*, better; *U ee-ngeeiang*, best. The Standard tem is also used for the superlative.

Pronouns.—The Personal Pronouns are:—

Standard	Plural
1st Person, ai	kami, kum.
2nd Person, ei, nei	phiaw.
3rd Person, u, ju, u-ju	bon.

The Nominative of the pronoun of the second person singular is given once as ha-ei, and once as ee-ei. The ee or ha is the Standard emphatic prefix ee.

Demonstrative Pronouns appear to be ka, tei that, and nei, or nih, this. *Ee* is used as a definite article in the phrase *ee phrasni*, the earthquake.

The Relative Pronoun is *u-hah, who.*

Interrogative Pronouns are *nei*, *u-nei*, *who?* and *nei*, *what?*

Verbs.—The pronoun which is the subject of a verb may either precede or follow it. Thus *ee nip*, I strike; *nip kaee*, *ee* strike. The words meaning to be are *ee*, *im*, and *mait* in addition to the Standard *long*. Like the Standard *don*, *im*, corresponding to Syiemg *ee*, also means to have. As in the

S. Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 A87 Khasi A87

194 etc., when employed at heavy labour. Very much more decent is it than the thin purse-like cloth worn by even the better class of Babus in Calcutta, which makes hardly any pretence of concealing the private parts. I can speak for the Garo women being particularly quiet and modest in their demeanour; and the young men on reaching a certain age, and until they marry, live and take their meals apart in a large house constructed for them; this is always the largest in the village, and where strangers are put up. This custom mitigates strongly against "their want of modesty", so often advanced, and proves, if anything, an advanced state of morality.

Again, in speaking of the Khasis and the looseness of their family and domestic relations, which are somewhat easy, the frequent changing of wives is not as common as might be supposed, and in the remoter villages I should say very rare. There is a very strong force which militates against its frequent practice. The men of these tribes select their wives not for beauty and delicacy, but for their well-developed forms and hard-working qualities—those who can carry heavy loads throughout the day; and the more children she begets the better for the pair: they can cultivate as these grow up a larger area, and live in greater comfort.

[195] In the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, March, 1852, is to be found one of the best papers on the Khásis, by the Rev. W. Pryse, who was attached to the Welsh Mission working both at Cherra Poonjee and Sylhet. A very good article appears in the *Calcutta Review* for 1850, vol. 27, being a review of the "Geology of the Khási Hills, with Observations on the Meteorology and Ethnology of that District," by Thomas Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, a work containing much valuable and interesting matter. An Introduction to the Khásis Language, by the Rev. W. Pryse, is also included in the above review.

196 The various ways in which the word Khási has been spelt by different writers has no doubt created more or less confusion, and it would be difficult to state which of the forms of Cossiah, Khasiyah, Kasia, etc. The most correct has been adopted by the mission at Cherra Poonjee in their printed works in the language, and adopted in this paper.

197 They call themselves Ki Khási, and their country Ka Ri Khási,* and without going out of our way to seek for a derivation of this word, may it not be derived from the Hindustani "Ghási"—grassy: the whole of the upper lands being of this nature, in contradistinction to the forest-clad valleys and slopes of the outer hills both north and south. The Khásias never pe-

* Compare "Bhot", a mountain (Tibetans).

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

assume the hard G; and in all words of Hindustani origin this letter has the sound of K. 101 [191]

They are called by the tribes of Kúkis and Nágas on the west "Kásu", the name they themselves have for the whole mass of hill people on their western side, the Gáros, though as we pass towards their confines, we find the names of local clans giving way to this general term which was not known to some of the villagers of West Nongstoin, who call the Gáros "Dikor."

The Gáro appellation for the Khásis is "Dikkil" or "Digil"; and it was very interesting to find, after visiting the villages of both, that they mutually fear each other, and consequently border raids never occur. The Gáros owned that they feared the bow and arrow of their neighbour, a weapon they themselves are unacquainted with the use of.

The Khásis always point to the east as the quarter from which they emigrated, but there is very little, if any, similarity with the languages of the people now occupying the hills on that side. [178] [197]

Before entering further on the subject matter of this paper, I must request my hearers or readers to remember that having no knowledge colloquially of the Khasi language, the information I give was obtained from natives who understood either English or Hindustani well. The greater part of the information was given me by a very intelligent man, a native inspector of schools in the district; thus I hope that all errors that exist may be hereafter corrected by others who have been able to elucidate with greater exactness the meaning of their many different rites and superstitions. 115

Certainly the most striking objects of interest in the Khási Hills are the upright stone monuments that are to be seen all over the country; these, set up by the wayside, or in the villages, more frequently cutting the sky on prominent hills, with the large slabs horizontally set before them, at once recall the Druidical remains of our own island, northern France, etc., and lead one to marvel at the similarity of the custom, and to inquire its origin and design. Many who visit those hills take it at once for granted that they are the graves of illustrious men, or, after them, let the matter rest, or finally believe that the ashes of the dead, to whose memory the monoliths are erected, are buried under the flat kind of altar or dolmen seen in front. 764 211

It is always a very difficult matter to obtain information from semi-civilised people on such a subject as their religious rites, especially if the inquirer is ignorant of their language. A slight knowledge of Hindustani on the part of the Khásia villager, renders the attempt still more hopeless, and the information given quite erroneous.

[p.120]

IV. THE PLACE OF THE KHASI IN THE WORLD.

By

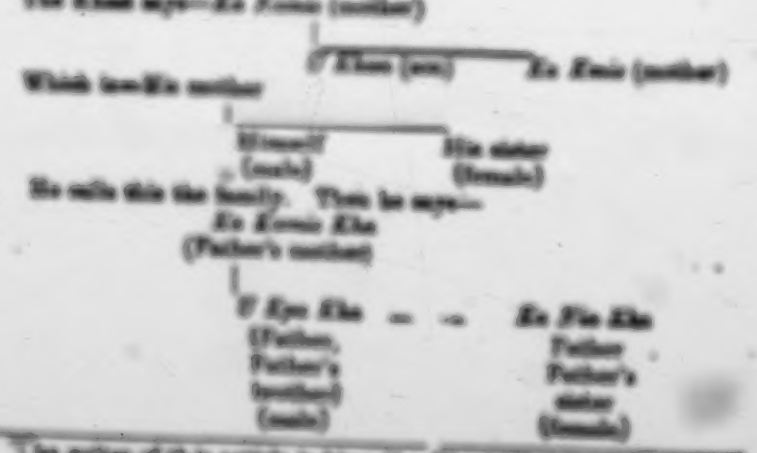
David Roy

[1] The Khasi country lies in the hills of the province of Assam in North East India. Khasi clans are exogamous and matrilocal, and the Khasis speak a Mon-Khmer language.

[2] In speaking of the place of the Khasi in the world I intend to explain the Khasi's own view of his relation to other peoples of the world.*

[3] The Khasi is very conscious of his importance. He says a Khasi claims to be the centre of the world. The Khasi has acquired such a feeling of self-importance from his great confidence in himself; and this confidence he has derived from the position in which his relationship-terminology represents him as standing with respect to himself and the world around him. Or, rather, his relationship terms and language are an expression of his attitude and notions.

[4] The Khasi says—*Ka Kmie* (mother)


U Khun (son)
Ka Kmie (mother)
Which is—Ka mother
Himself (male)
His sister (female)
He calls this the family. Then he says—
Ka Kmie Ka (Father's mother)
U Kpa Ka (Father, Father's brother) (male)
Ka Pia Ka Father Father's sister (female)

[5] * An author of this is certainly a Khasi (Christian).

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The homeland of the Khasi is the hilly country situated in the northeast of India and known at present as the District of United Khasi and Jaintia Hills, under the Assam State Government. The area is bounded by the plains of the Kamrup and the Nowgong Districts to the north, by the Cachar Hills and East Pakistan (District of Sylhet) to the south, and by the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills Districts to the east. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills are divided politically into two subdivisions, with headquarters at Shillong for the Khasi Hills, and at Jowai for the Jaintia Hills, respectively. The peoples of both subdivisions are called "Khasi" in a broad sense, and are distinctly marked off from other neighbouring tribes and peoples by language and social structure. The population of the Khasi in the District is 363,599 (*Census of India, 1951, Assam*). Their language belongs to one of the Mon group of the Austro-Asiatic family to which the Munda in central India also belongs.[1]

Though all Khasis share fundamentally the same language and social structure, their culture, dialects, economy, social usage, and political organization vary greatly, owing to the ecological and politico-historical differences among them. The United Khasi and Jaintia Hills are much higher than the neighbouring Garo Hills. The plateau of the Khasi Hills ranges from about 4,000 feet to 6,000 feet, of which

1. The *Census of India, 1951, Assam*, makes the following remarks on their language: "Their nearest kinsmen have been discovered to be the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting one of the Shan States to the northeast of Mandalay on the middle Salween. Later the relationship of the Khasi language has been traced not only to the Mon-Khmer language, but also to the Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by some tribes in the Malay Peninsula. In Assam, this special form of speech is only found in the Khasi and Jaintias while nearly all the other primitive languages with which it is surrounded belong to the great Bodo family. The Khasi language is the only member of the Mon-Khmer family which possesses a grammatical gender distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine, and here also the feminine seems immensely preponderate."

[P. 95]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land.

178 423 428

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the households within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure.

178 184 423 428 556 [171]

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, who came from Cherrapunje, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages.

197 [124]

12. Village Endogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans and the nature of the descent groups.

582 621 [171]

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common

614 [765] [769]

16: McCormack E-4.5 (1956-1958) 1964
AR7 Khasi AR7
[P. 105 B]

NORTHERN UPLAND GROUPS

KHASIS*

Synonyms: Cossia, Cossiah, Kasia, Kassia, Kassiya, Kassya, Khasias, Khasiah, Khasie, Khassias, Kossias

ORIENTATION. Identification and location. The term Khasi has often been applied to that entire

*This account of Khasi culture, contributed by Aung P. Mc-Cormack, is based on field work during 1956-58 in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District. The author wishes to emphasize that key data are on the subject Khasis who inhabit the centre of the District. She gratefully acknowledges support of the field work from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., and the Ford Foundation, for one of its Foreign Area Training Fellowships.

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group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the present-day United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 47' and 92° 52' E. and 25° 5' and 26° 5' N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their duolocal residence pattern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadems in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lyangam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehrenfels (1955) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhois, Wars, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Mikirs, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, so that Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars; of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. [For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Costa 1936 and 1937, also Gurdon 1907, especially for data on regional variations.] Geography. The District is 5,594 square miles of hilly tableland, intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,643 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 35 miles ease into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 200 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 905 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 33 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and seldom snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical; forest is jungly, and fauna abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker 1891, chap. XXIX.] Linguistic affiliation. Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Palaung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Grierson adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Rabot 1901, Grierson 1903-28: 2: March 1962.]

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[428]
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[113]
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[214]
[113]

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

593 wedlock go to the wife and becomes her property; but all other
428 property is inalienable, and reverts to his family, as also does his corpse at death.

771 'RELIGION.—The religion of the Khásis is demon-worship, or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers. They invoke evil spirits as the deputies of God and the instruments
775 of His pleasure or displeasure. The Khásis believe in metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls. After death, human beings are transformed into monkeys, crabs, tortoises, frogs, etc. Though a future state is not denied, it is treated with absolute indifference, as beyond the sphere of responsibility; all rites, ceremonies, and observances bear reference to the welfare of mankind in this world. The spirits of their departed relatives and ancestors are invoked only in so far as they are considered to influence and have power
764 over the present life. The Khásis burn their dead, and collect the ashes in urns, which are kept under a slab raised on four others enclosing space. These monuments are of various kinds and sizes —one for individuals, another for a family, and another for a whole
614 clan. There is no caste system, but each clan is called after some object common, as the Oak clan, the Crab clan, etc., and these names call certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is
771 forbidden. The Khási religion may be briefly described as the practice of forms to cure diseases, and to avert misfortunes of all kinds, because of ascertaining the name of the demon who is the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it.

797 'CHRISTIANITY.—The Welsh Mission has been labouring amongst the Khásis and Syntengs for thirty-two years. The Christian number about 1000 [according to the Census of 1891, the total number of native converts in the District is only 83]. There are four central stations—Cherra, Shillá, Shillong, and Jowái —and twenty-three churches. Translations of the whole of the New Testament, and a portion of the Old, are now (1896) going to press, besides other religious books.

• 197 'LANGUAGE.—The definitions generally given of monosyllabic
193 languages are far from adequate to enable us to assign to the Khási tongue its position amongst the Indo-Chinese family of speech. Still, in the absence of a better terminology, it may be described as monosyllabic in the agglutinative stage. The monosyllabic elements greatly predominate. By far the larger number of the compounds are mere agglutinations (e.g. modified

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

sense) or juxtapositions of roots which have not thereby suffered either elocurtion or absorption—that is to say, they are all, with a few exceptions, reducible to their constituent root words, which are still "current coin," and retain their power as independent vocables. The cases in which elocurtion and "fusion" of roots have taken place are confined to—(1) the noun prefix *jaw*, expressing abstract ideas; (2) the verbal prefixes *hyn*, *kyn*, *lyn*, *ryn*, *ryn*, *syn*, *pyn*, *kyr*, *kyr*, *lyr*, *pyr*, *ryr*, *tyr*, expressing causation, intensification, and contrariety. The language is found purest at Cherra Punji. The Khásás have no written character or literature of any kind of their own. Tradition says that all was lost while they were yet masters of the plains, whence they were driven by a general catastrophe or deluge to their present fastnesses in the hills. The following works on the language have been published: *Khási Grammar*, *Anglo-Khási Dictionary*, *Khási Primer* (Parts I. and II., with Vocabulary),—all issued by the Calcutta School-Book Society; *Khási English Dictionary* (in preparation), and an *Anglo-Khási First Book*.

"CUSTOMS REGARDING INHERITANCE.—A Khásí, whether married or single, if he makes his mother's house his home, is said to be caring for his *kur*, *i.e.* for his mother, or his brothers and sisters, or his mother's relatives. On his death his property goes to his mother, if living; if not, to the grandmother; if she is not living, then to his sisters, should his sisters also be dead, to his sisters' children. Should the deceased have left no sisters, the property goes to the brothers; should he have no brothers or should they be dead, the property descends to his aunts, or to their children if the aunts are not living; should the aunts have left no children, the property descends to the grandmother's or great grandmother's sisters or children. The property of a female on her death goes to her mother, if the deceased have no children; or if the mother of the deceased is not living, the property goes to the brothers and sisters; if the sisters are dead, then their children become the heirs. If there are no such children, the property devolves as in the case of males. When a man is not living in his mother's house, but in that of his wife, he cares for his wife and children. On his death his property descends to his wife, with the exception of the ornaments and clothing worn by him during his lifetime, which go to the brothers and sisters or other relatives of the deceased. Should the deceased have been a widower, the property goes to his children, and in their absence

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

105 [175] [197] 144 It will here be recalled that the Khasi are a matrilineal agricultural people, pre-litterate until the advent of the British in the sixth decade of the 19th century, organized under democratically ruling *siems*, or Khasi princes and chieftains and speaking an Austro-Asiatic language [16]. Their physical affinities are unmistakably mongoloid and quite distinct from the Assamese speaking plains-Indians, — but not from the other mountaineers of Assam, Nepal and even Burmah or China, with whom they feel to be more closely related, as with the Indian plainspeople, as some of the tribal designations in the following lists of terms for Non-Khasi testifies (comp. No. 41 as against No. 42, 43 and 43/*a-c*).

114 122 In the collection of the material, I was hampered by my inability to pick up the Khasi language sufficiently quickly, for conversation without the help of an interpreter, but on the other hand greatly eased by generous and voluntary assistance on the part of several Khasi friends, especially U Ekiman Singh, the President, Unitarian Union, Khasi- and Jaintai Hills and his (Khasi) wife, Ka Austria [17], who offered me hospitality in their house at Maw Syn Jri, during my stay there. Dr. H. Lyngdoh, Shillong, the author of detailed accounts on Khasi religious ceremonial and institutions [18], U Jeeban Roy, a leading Pnar gentleman of Jowai in the Jaintia Hills, Ka Ellen Giri, Principal, Govt. Basic Education Training Centre, Malki, Shillong, Ka Kongmen, Shillong, and U David Roy, Prime Minister (retd.), and a number of hospitable War Khasi and War-Jaintia pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hills, especially from the villages Mawlai and Padu, also helped me greatly in my task. My thanks are due to all of them.

101 119 The data, submitted and briefly described in this paper were thus collected in four different areas:

1. The South-eastern corner of the Khasi-Hills (plateau-area),
2. the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, the "War-Khasi country" between the Khasi plateau proper and the northern boundary of East Pakistan,
3. the central plateau of the Jaintia Hills, round its capital market Jowai, and
4. the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, the "War-Jaintia country" between these and a section of the northern boundary of East Pakistan, further to the East than area 2.

197 Slightly different Khasi dialects are spoken in these four regions, Jaintia (Pnar or "Synteng") and War-Jaintia being more akin to each other, similarly as Plateau-Khasi and War-Khasi are.

101 195 The Pnar or Jaintias ("Synteng" is a slightly opprobrious designation, used by the Plateau-Khasi for these, their eastern neighbours) look back

[553] [16] Schmidt (1906).

[17] So named, because Austria was much in the news at the time of her birth, during the first world war, — a fact which illustrates the Khasi peculiarity to use either all her inventories as names for children, or to adopt such, from the Khasi point of view, outlandish words like "Ka Austria" or "Ka Mediterranean Sea" as names for these children.

[18] Lyngdoh (1937).

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowai, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the *Wâr*-Khasi and *Wâr*-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both *Wâr*-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both *Wâr*-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the *Wâr*-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two *Wâr*-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or *-fields*. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the *Wâr*-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the *Wâr*-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both *Wâr*-Khasi and *Wâr*-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmaker village, the ancestors of the present *Wâr* people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (*Wâr*-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

601 Term 19 and 20 — *para kur* and *para kha*; the former for all cousins and half-siblings on the mother's and the latter for those on the father's side, show the consciousness of the matrilineal clan-affinity and the patrilineal biological relationship through their classificatory subdivision, which is also true of

Term 21, 21/a and 21/b; — the *kakha* are cross-cousins.

Term 21/b shows special consideration for the older paternal male cousin of the first degree, who is addressed as *kak* whilst the older maternal male cousin of the first degree is addressed as *kong*, like the older female cousins on both sides.

[192] Term 23, 23/a, 23/b, — *kniew* for grandchildren would appear to mean: dog's children. It has, however, been pointed out to me, by Khasi friends, that the Khasi word for dog is *kurw*; not *kniew*. The Pnar (Jaintia) pronunciation *ki kru* for grandchildren, and the occasionally occuring designation of great-grandchildren as "cats children" (term 24) and of great-great-grandchildren as "rats children" (term 25), however, would appear rather to suggest the derivation of *kbun kniew* from *kurw* — dog, than from a meaningless separate root.

[193] Term 24 — *kbun miau* (i. e. cats children) for great-grandchildren is used among Pnar-speaking Khasi families. BERNATZIK considers with CREDNER, E. LUNET DE LAJONQUIÈRE, MARABAILS and EICKSTEDT the possibility that the name of the Mranu has been derived from cats[99]. This is a hill tribe, speaking a language with some similarity to the Mon-Khmer group[100] (to which also the Khasi language belongs). The Mranu are living not very far from the possible homeland of the Khasi around the region of S. China, N. Siam and Indo-China. If a parallel should here be assumed, the two complementary Khasi terms No. 23 (dogs children) and 25 (rats children) may appear to be formed on the basis of analogy with the term "cats children" as tribal self-designation. Another explanation, however, of this unusual kinship-term which was given to me by a Khasi friend, contented that each generation, seen from the ancestral parent's point of view, is as numerous as the young of the respective varieties of animals.

Term 25 — *kbun knasi* (rats children) comments: — see: term 24, (supra).

601 602 Term 26 — *u ki* — *u kong* as a honorific term for the maternal uncles and the husbands of the elder sisters and elder female cousins on the maternal side, illustrates the great respect shown to male relatives on the mother's side by adding the masculine preposition *u* to the word *kong*, which generally signifies elder female maternal relatives, but in this case, their husbands (comp. term 33/e). This usage of the term is reminiscent of the Brahmin ceremonies performed for male maternal ancestors, instead of for mothers, grandmothers, etc. It also tallies with my observations, otherwise obtained[101]

[99] BERNATZIK (1947), pp. 6, 7.

[100] BERNATZIK (1947), p. 165, though he denies the inclusion of the Mranu into the Mon-Khmer group.

[101] EHRENFELS (1950), p. 39; (1951-A), pp. 3, 4, 5; (1951-B), pp. 72, 80, etc.

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342 space about three quarters of the width of the house, was partitioned off by mat walls. It served as a room for the married couple. The unmarried women sleep near the fireplace; the young men in the bachelor's house. Adjacent to the room of the couple, a small door opened on a small roofed veranda with a low gallery (Plate X, 3) which had no exit. The rear post was at-
[531] tractively carved. According to Dalton, the Garo have a special talent for this kind of work. The
[231] space under the house pile by the lower side of the slope, at the end of the house, was used for the oxen. Higher up, where they had less space, they kept the pig sty.

The Garo, like the Kachin and also other mountain tribes, have a second smaller house on their fields, frequently far distant. They live in these houses during tillage time and also to guard the crops. According to Playfair they have in more recent days even shown a tendency to abandon the village houses permanently in favor of the field huts.

They try to build the huts as high above the ground as possible in order to have a wider view, but mainly as a protection of the occupants against nocturnal attacks by elephants. To achieve this the Garo often use high trees instead of piles and build their houses into the forked branch stumps (73).

73. In Playfair, p. 16 is an excellent illustration of such a tree house (borang). These tree houses, of course, have nothing to do with primitive customs (Schurtz, ibid., p. 433; Brigham, ibid., pp. 58 et seq.).

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101 Bordering the settlements of the Garo in the
D197 east live the Khasi, who linguistically must be linked to the Palaung, Wa, and Talaing in Burma.